

Behind the Bars

(Capitalist, "Communist," Republican and Monarchist)

"All Governments Are Tyrannies
The Whole World Is a Prison."

THE VOICE OF THE IMPRISONED

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FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE ANARCHIST RED CROSS

Beginning Oct. 13, 1922, Up to Oct. 8, 1923

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(Concluded on Page 16)

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BEHIND THE BARS

New Series

January, 1924

Vol. 1, No. 1

RESPOND TO THE CALL OF THE MARTYRS FOR FREEDOM

W h y ?

The Anarchist Red Cross in existence again? Have you not liquidated your organization in 1917? Have not all the imprisoned and exiled Anarchists been liberated through the 1917 revolution in Russia?

These and many similar queries arise on all sides. Let us therefore answer them, and once for all clarify and acquaint the world with the conditions of the true revolutionists in Russia today.

It is true that the Revolution in 1917 freed the imprisoned and exiled Russian Anarchists and as a result we suspended the activities of the Red Cross. But conditions in Russia have changed for the worse. Men and women are again arrested and exiled, not only Anarchists but Right Socialists and moderate liberals are also being persecuted.

Happy Moments

When Russia was shaken by the great thunder of the Revolution, the grim gates of the dungeons flung open. Joy and freedom penetrated the remotest and most secluded sections of Siberia. The overcrowded dungeons, where hundreds of martyrs had lost their health and lives under the rule of the Czars, remained empty and forsaken. The people dreamed of transforming these grim structures, where death and terror had reigned, into hospitals and schools, institutions that are of extreme need for resurrected Russia.

We dreamed! We hoped! But alas, shattered hopes. The revolutionary period was brief in Russia. Short-lived was Freedom's stay in the great land that stretches from the Black Sea to the Pacific Ocean. The devastating storm of Bolshevism soon swept over the great land. The empty prisons were soon filled anew. Again the long procession of idealists, exiles to Siberia and the far North, appeared. Again the defenders of Freedom are being tortured in the dungeon casements. Through the vast stretch of land and sea, we hear their cries of pain and their call for help.

Is it surprising then that the echo of their cries

resounded in the hearts of their comrades all over the world? How can we wonder then that we had to reorganize the Anarchist Red Cross in America?

Past and Present

The possibilities to send assistance to the imprisoned comrades in Russia are more difficult now than before. Corrupt and autocratic as the Tzarist government was, it was shy of public opinion in that land and abroad. Every word of criticism in the European press of inhuman conditions prevailing in the Russian prisons, every disclosure of the harsh treatment of political prisoners, received a great deal of attention from the officials in charge, and the conditions were somewhat improved. Under the old regime, food and clothing could be sent to the prisoners from outside by their friends and comrades. The clothing, sugar, biscuits and books we used to send were always delivered to the addresses without any mishap.

But how different today! Woe unto those who fall into the claws of the defenders of Bolshevik "Justice." The Communists who have exploited the revolutionary sentiments and aspirations of the masses for their party purposes, on gaining power, ignored all their previous slogans and promises of freedom and equality. For the past six years, they suppressed with iron hand everything free and humane in Russia. Under the pretext of a Socialist and Revolutionist party, they suppressed active opponents of their tyranny as reactionists and counter-revolutionists, ignoring every expression of resentment and protest of public opinion.

The conditions of the prisoners in the Bolshevik jails are, to say the least, shocking. The prisons are neglected, overcrowded and insanitary. The clothes are old and ragged, and the food scanty and lacking of nourishment. Food and clothing sent to the prisoners by their friends and comrades are retained by the prison administration which explains, "Let the prisoners feel that they are in jail. Let them know that one who opposes the Bolshevik rule must suffer for it, and suffer terribly."

Difficult as it is at present to send relief to our imprisoned comrades, we are still more deter-

mined to surmount all difficulties and proceed with our work of comforting our suffering martyrs to the limit of our abilities and to ease the dreary days of their imprisonment. The task is much greater than heretofore, and therefore great resources are needed, more financial and moral support.

Myths and Actualities

Who are the political prisoners in Russia today? In the land of Social Revolution where a self-styled Socialist and revolutionary party is ruling with iron hand? Are not those who oppose their rule reactionaries and counter-revolutionists? Examining carefully the economic and political conditions of the workers and peasants in Russia, of the Bolshevik rule will suffice to give us a clear answer to this question. The Bolshevik dictatorship did not improve the economic conditions of the Russian masses. The workers are starving or toiling long hours for a mere pittance. They are absolutely at the mercy of the government which controls their unions and their bread. The peasants lack everything that makes life worth living. Their soviets have been turned into government bureaus and every sign of dissatisfaction or criticism is crushed with an iron hand.

Politically the condition is still worse. There is no press in Russia except the official Bolshevik press. Men and women are arrested for expressing an opinion contrary to the official orders. No party, club or organization of any kind except the Bolsheviks are permitted to exist in "revolutionary" Russia. Official Communism became the church of the Russian ruling clique, persecuting all heretics who do not proscribe to their catechism. The revolutionary phrase of the Communist Church is as meaningless as the phrase Christian Love is to the capitalist rulers. It is a myth, a formality only.

Against this new deception arose the true lovers of freedom, men and women Anarchists and Socialists who have lost their health and youth in the Tzarist prisons for their love of liberty. They were forced to renew their former struggles and activities against the suppression of our new rulers, and are again being persecuted, imprisoned and exiled as in the "good old days."

The Lies Exposed

At first the Russian rulers denied that the Socialists and Anarchists were arrested for their opinions, but they can do it no longer now. Such famous names of well-known revolutionists as Olga Taratuto, Marie Spiridonova, Germaine Os-

karoff and others who were arrested and tortured by the Bolshevik rulers are enough to prove that not criminals or counter-revolutionists are imprisoned, but true revolutionists are being persecuted for their love of liberty and devotion to the cause of labor.

Conclusion

We have dwelt at length on the persecution of Anarchists in Russia not because it is the only country where our comrades are suffering, but on account of the Bolshevik attempt to spread lies about our persecuted martyrs. This, however, occurs in all countries is well. Wherever the state is in power, whether capitalistic or communistic, the lovers of freedom are jailed and tortured. In France, Italy, Spain and United States, our comrades are languishing behind iron bars. Our aim is to help them all as much as possible, and we appeal to you in the name of liberty and human interest to assist in this noble work.

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Dear Comrade:

October 14, 1923.

I am referring to your kind letter of October 8th, and which I read with the same interest I have read all yours. Yes, dear comrade, at last my sentence of 15 years was commuted by the President of this country on condition of my deportation to Mexico, where I long to go. I only asked that my deportation be made effective at the earliest possible date. The question is that I am still here in this hated bastille, in spite that my commutation was granted on the 2nd of this month. The thought comes to my mind that if I were willing to remain in this country, the perhaps the government had already deported me. One thing is true, that I was hard to be reformed and molded at the capitalist style. My continued unjust imprisonment only served to reaffirm my old convictions and ideals of justice, which I have cherished since long ago. I feel myself more rebel against the present organized system of injustices than when I was the first day of my confinement in this American Bastille. Tremendous injustices and wrongs wilfully done are clearly seen; they exist and are at sight and have existed centuries before; they are engraved in my mind since my youth and cannot be crossed out with the threatening club in the hand of any hangman. Justice equal for all is what we need, and human kind shall have it at any cost some day in a relative short future, when everything be the common property for the free use and benefit of every human being and not for the benefit of a handful of millionaires, actual owners of the world. I hope these dreams of happiness for all will come to be a fact some day in order to enjoy a true brotherhood and permanent peace all over the world.

I close as always with my best wishes and comradely love for you.

LIBRADO RIVERA

The latest News from Russia.

Dear Friend:

No doubt you will understand why we didn't write you all this time in regard to that which you requested of us and what we really did want to write you about. The reason is simple: Every written word leaving and coming in to Russia is being read and censored, especially that which comes from our comrades, and the Bolshevik censors are not to be fooled. The fact is that many a time we knew that there were letters for us and that they were being held by the authorities. Besides, for corresponding with anyone outside of Russia, and especially for letting anyone know what our arrested comrades are undergoing, the punishment is severe. It is true, we might have written on the chance that it may or may not reach you, but as our uppermost desire is to leave Russia, we hate to put further obstacles and complications in the way, unless it be of any value. Lately, four of our comrades succeeded in getting away, and the rest of us are awaiting chance to do likewise. Each one of us has different plans, as the situation for our comrades has not changed at all either for those who have already been jailed, or for the rest of us. Those who are out of jail many a time wish they were imprisoned, as the situation is such that their suffering is unbearable. Work cannot be secure by an Anarchist, and those who do work must be very docile, because if they make any objection or complaint they are immediately discharged. It happens very often, when a comrade tries to leave for another town, he is caught on the way and brought back, or sent to a different place altogether.

And yet there seems to be some kind of an awakening and activity, but it is very doubtful if anything will be accomplished, because each one of the comrades is constantly being followed by a pair of eyes. Often one or the other is being called to appear before the "Supreme Authority," just to be asked a question or two, to talk things over, and in some manner or other be offered an "easy job" and be secured economically, etc. "Why go hungry such fine fellows that you are?"

The worker in the factories shuns Anarchists, because he is always being spied upon at all times, and should he only stop to say a word or two to an Anarchist, he may lose his job, and then . . . It's not so easy to secure work elsewhere—the Trade Union will see to that. Of course, it's done under different pretexts, but what can the worker do?

It often happened before, and there are several cases now, that Anarchists turn Bolsheviks, but these are for the most part adventurers, as it proves in the end. Some of them defend their action with pretty phrases, but no one believes them, even the Bolsheviks don't. They are being spied upon, to ascertain whether or not they keep up their old connections. Their work is mostly among such departments that are employed to spy upon the Anarchists. Some of them submit, others refuse and are being punished and persecuted for it. And generally

they are given jobs which pay very little, where there is no graft, and consequently go hungry.

Many of those who have turned Bolsheviks have told the following: They were being urged by the authorities to leave the Bolshevik party, join again those forces where they formerly belonged, and thus be able to give true accounts to the government of the doings of that particular organization. Many of them have, of course, refused to do it, and have no doubt paid a heavy penalty for that . . . Others, as it happens in every country and in every movement, have followed out this procedure, and are still doing their evil work . . . It is for such that our comrades must look out.

No doubt you are familiar with the policy of the Bolsheviks in regard to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. They make a practice of calling a conference of all the degenerates who have long been thrown out of their parties (I forgot to say that beforehand there is wide-spread arrest, and only the weaklings who under-sign that the Bolshevik is the only revolutionary party are let out), and these degenerates declare their parties to be out of existence, and make public statements in the papers published by Bolshevik funds. We, too, could have expected this, and it did come in the person of Chaim Gaitsman, Ladanski, Michailov, Liza Tinovitzkaia and her husband Tchekereass and others who have already prepared a declaration and a call for such a conference, and undoubtedly the Soviet papers will soon proclaim this. For instance, during the early part of August there were general arrests in several towns, and this surely is in connection with this declaration and with the forthcoming conference, as a precaution against disturbances which may be caused by comrades influencing others, etc., and also as a means to take advantage of the weaklings that may possibly yield and join the Bolsheviks, at least as far as making some statements in the press. However, they will have a hard time with the Anarchists. It's only a pity that everything is being done under such heavily bolted doors. Your work, then, is not to be silent . . .

As regards the arrested ones. There are about 300 Anarchists in the jails of Russia, Ukraine and Siberia. But it is hard to obtain correct statistics, because the situation of the arrested ones now is quite different from that of the "old" days, when each prisoner knew his term, his place, and was given books to read, and was allowed to receive mail. Now it's different. One day you're pardoned, and before you come to yourself, you're arrested again. The best treatment is given at the Moscow jails, in the city where all the foreign delegates and visitors arrive. But very few are kept in the jails of the large cities; for the most part the arrested Anarchists are sent to Archangelsk, Petromsk, Cholimogiria (Cholimogiria is 120 versts from Archangelsk), in Tobolsk Gubernia, thousands of versts from a railroad; all over Siberia; in places where there are few inhabitants, where there are no books and no newspapers, where no foreign representative ever comes. Their condition is by far worse than of those who are in large cities, where

food, clothing, etc., can be gotten to them from time to time.

Until recently we were able to send someone with a supply of food and clothing to places nearer here, like Archangelsk, Petromak and Cholmogiria. The expenses of this, of course, were terrific. But now those who go on such missions are being arrested, and as punishment are being sent away to regions still further. Yet this happened to many, and it's a question if we'll ever see them again.

The spirit of the arrested ones is very depressing. The hunger strike, which was the only recourse of prisoners, and which did yield results in a period of five or six days, but in these days, when comrades wanted to be transferred from the cellar of the Moscow Tcheka to the Butirka, because no one who hasn't actually been confined in that cellar can even have the least inkling of what horror it is, it took 19 days of starving to get the transfer. And as this method of securing anything at all is becoming less and less effective, the Bolsheviks saying "let them hunger until they die," our comrades come to such a desperation that suicide seems to be the only way out, as Baron and other tried it by means of setting fire to their cell. But the guard interfered and saved them.

At one time the regime in Cholmogiria was possible due to a rather decent warden, who allowed the politicals to congregate, gave them a kitchen for use, etc. But with the oncoming of winter, a new warden arrived. It was just at the time when the prisoners had to change for their winter cells, and the new warden declared that they'd have to be put in separate cells, and that the privilege of kitchen will be taken away. When they protested and refused to go, they were promised to get all the privileges they demanded, but in the end the comrades rioted, because the warden did not live up to his promise, and this was answered with shooting on the part of the authorities, almost resulting in the death of Kabas, Tarasuk, a nemigrant from Philadelphia, and others. After that a Commission was summoned from Archangelsk and some of the demands were granted. But even up to this day, for looking out of the window the guard answers with shooting, as in the "good" old days.

This is only one of the phases of the general situation. It is impossible to relate in detail about all the persecutions that the prisoners undergo; about the young women whose hair was torn off their scalps; of the young people with toothless mouths because of "tzinga"; of comrades who have been released, but in such a condition that they haven't the strength to exist, etc.

But to give you the names of the arrested ones, as you ask, is entirely impossible for me. And why know the names? Does a single name signify anything? The facts speak for themselves. In the central localities there are always comrades in prison. In Moscow, the city of numerous prisons, there are usually between 160 and 170 comrades imprisoned during a period of a "clean-up," in other words, when the authorities release some, imprison others, and shoot down still others. During a more or less regular period there are not many comrades in the jails of Moscow. However, these so-called "regular" periods don't last long, for both in Moscow and Petrograd wholesale general arrests are a matter of frequent occurrence. This applies to Ural, Briansk, Kurak,

Razan, Vladimir, Charkov, Odessa, Minsk, Kamenetz-Podolsk, Tiflis, Siberia, etc.

To keep up intercourse between all these places under these conditions is a very hard matter, and often an impossibility, so that I can't really say what is happening in these distant parts at present. In Odessa, Yerbitski, an old comrade, a peasant from a village near Elizavetograd, was shot some short time ago. Another comrade from the same district, Mitropan Kulka, is at present imprisoned in Odessa. For a period of nine months we didn't know his whereabouts or anything about him, and only now, through some chance information, we discovered that capital punishment awaits him.

So you see, comrades, the situation is desperate, and your help is needed very much. All the money you've sent us up to the date was distributed among the comrades.

Also we need you to be the voice that shall spread the truth about the true situation here.

Constantinople, Aug. 26, 1923.

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A LETTER FROM MOLLIE STEIMER

Berlin, October 21, 1923.

How do you do, dear friend.

From the letter I have sent you while on the boat to Germany, you already know that I and my comrade Fleskin were deported from Russia. The official sentence reads:

"To be driven out of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic forever." !!!

These hangmen think that they will be in power forever. But so did the Tzar . . .

I have been thinking of you quite often since I left the States, not because I was in need of an attorney, oh no! Even if I would have had one, he could be of no use to me because the Soviet government did not find it advisable to trial me, though I was arrested and sentenced twice during my stay in Russia. In November, 1922, I was sentenced to two years exile in Abdorsk (Siberia) for working in the society that aids imprisoned Anarchists in Russia and for having connection with the comrades of Europe.

This time it was more serious. On the 9th of July, 1923, 41 persons were arrested and in 16 houses were left Zassadas. Fifteen of the 41 comrades were presented with the terrible accusation of advocating Anarchism!

I and another woman comrade were not even allowed to mingle with the other political prisoners. We were kept strictly isolated from each other and from everybody else. It took a seven-day hunger strike to change the behavior towards us to somewhat more human!

When we asked whether we will be given a trial, the Soviet representative answered firmly: "Your case will be sent to Moscow and that is

A call from our Japanese comrades.

Dear Comrades:

We must inform you about the cruel intrigues of the Japanese Government.

On the first of September many violent earthquakes occurred in Tokio, a conflagration starting in several other places. Since that event the Japanese rulers resolved to make wholesale arrests on the so-called Koreans, "disobedient Koreans," Anarchists, Syndicalists and union men. At first they rapidly spread pernicious propaganda among the refugee throngs: "Beware of the Koreans, for they will throw bombs, set houses on fire, and put poison into the wells and foods." This misleading propaganda was very effective, and soon the bourgeoisie enrolled scoundrels and organized a "self-defense" body in every street. The boy scouts and veterans were also mobilized to arrest the Koreans, and the government permitted them to carry arms openly, chiefly long swords, revolvers and bomb lances. Within three days they massacred more than a thousand Koreans, men and women, virtually without a hearing. They simply arrested people on the streets for suspicion and immediately clubbed them to death on the street corner. However, many Japanese speaking different dialects and expressions shared death in similar fashion.

From the third of September, Tokio and the surrounding provinces had been put under military precaution, and numerous soldiers with bay-

onets were stationed all over the ruined and partly remaining streets. They continued the massacre of the Koreans, and when they had exterminated them, the several hundred still imprisoned suffered severely while incarcerated in the garden of the Mausoleum and in the esplanade of Marashino near Tokio. This was to endeavor to prove later that the government made efforts to safeguard the Koreans from the civil punishment, after which the government intrigue (so-called "high politics"), played their part.

Then their second cruel scene began, that is to wipe out the revolutionists. The high police department secretly propagated that the Anarchists and Socialists allied themselves with the Koreans to rob and burn houses, and that therefore people should beware of them; detectives conferred with the capitalists to secretly aid them in this government plot. And soon commenced the sudden wholesale arrests and murdering of Anarchists and union men. On September 3, in Ohshina Street, the secretary of the Union "Jhun Rodo Numiai," K. Hirasana (37 years) and nine other syndicalists had been arrested, and in the police station Kamcido was secretly pierced to death with swords by cavalymen. These dead bodies were burned together with scores of Koreans, this being jointly committed by the police and the military. When dying the comrades shouted, "Long live the workers!"

Until the sixth, several hundred Anarchists, Syndicalists and Socialists had been imprisoned

all." In reality, how could they trial us? Material against us they had none. They could not accuse any one of us of banditism. Each of the defendants has a revolutionary record of a pure and ideal kind, and of course the Communists could not admit frankly before the public of Petrograd that these Anarchists are only suspected of propagating their ideas. You know I suppose that Lozovsky and his kind claim that "the Soviet Government is imprisoning only bandits who call themselves Anarchists, but idealist Anarchists are not touched." Consequently they can not afford to trial people for their ideas . . . They usually try to attach some criminal act to the credit of the political in order to disgrace him, but once they can not find any pretense for something criminal

or disgraceful against their opponent, his chance for trial is lost.

Thus, on the 26th of August, the sentence was brought to us to jail by a representative of the G. P. U., saying: This is what we just received from Moscow. Such and such workers and students to two years exile, Maria Veger (a teacher) three years Solovietzky Monaster; Steimer and Fleskin to be driven out from the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic forever."

So you see lawyers can be of no help to politicals in "Communist" Russia.

The reason why I thought of you so often is because you were very fair to me during the entire time that you were handling our case.

in the name of "safety" and in the fettering chambers of the police headquarters the gendarms and the police had threatened them with bayonets. The comrades not yet in the grip of the police were spied upon in their homes by gendarms and police.

On September 16th, a famous Anarchist Sakae Osugi (39 years old), who was editor of an Anarchist monthly "Rodo Nudo" (Labor Movement), in the publishing office at No. 15 Katamachi, Hongo, Tokio (his home was out of town), was cruelly hung by the gendarm captain Amakasa and his lieutenant Mari in the gendarm headquarters of Tokio, together with his wife Moe Ito (20 years). His little nephew, Munekazu Techbauna, 7 years, was also cruelly hung in the same way by the gendarm corporals. Of the deed committed against Kamoshida and Hada the entire work may already be aware of, though perhaps it was not reported correctly, but the truth about the child unrelated to them must be told. He was born April 14, 1917, in the restaurant of his parents Sozaburo (father), Tachibana and Ajame (mother), Tachibana in Portland, Ore., U. S. A., and therefore certainly had the rights of an American. He had just returned with his mother to Japan.

Before Amakasa had been arrested the commander of Military Precaution, and the Gendarmy Commander suddenly had been dismissed from their duties, but the reason for it all had not been published.

Osugi, Moe and Munekazu together on that same day were waiting near a lodging house on Kashuage, Tokio, and all of a sudden had been seized and transported by an automobile to the gendarmy barracks. There they were killed in complete secrecy and the corpses nakedly submerged into the ground in a well, their clothes in shreds were burned to ashes, thus trying to conceal the crime and attempting to hide the traces of the criminal, Captain Amakasu, who, according to his own testimony, boastfully says that his act was due to his patriotic sincerity and his personal intention, but this we believe to be a stupid lie. For if he undertook the crime thru his own designs, then he did not have to accompany Osugi to the official gendarmy quarters, nor did the government have to dismiss the commanders.

Another thing, if the action originated from the public idea of patriotism, he would never have been obliged to hide his crime. However, we can soon reach the decision that these four gendarm accomplices were a minor sacrifice to the

systematically agitated intrigue of the Japanese government. But this intrigue, unfortunately, became disclosed through the quarrel of the police and the gendarmers, or between the local department and the military department, from the confession of Captain Amakasu at the first court muddle (hearing) Oct. 8. There he confessed that he had been agitated by the captain of Jakobash police station (near the lodging house of Osugi) to kill Osugi while the military precaution ruled Tokio.

The murder of the ten Syndicalists by the cavalry was also forbidden to be made public in the press, and only when the first trial of Amakasu had been opened did the entire press strongly menace the metropolitan police headquarters till at last the government with difficulty and unwillingly permitted the news to be made known and only because of the responsibility does the public prosecution negligibly move in this rather stale crime.

On October 1st, the comrades who were previously chained were released, but numerous spies are constantly on the watch around their houses. This clearly shows that they await the opportune moment to exterminate us, therefore we are now in extreme danger, enduring extreme impatient agony because of the murdered comrades, men and women. Even to mourn martyrs is now strictly forbidden.

Comrades the world over, remember always that the Japanese Government is an enemy detrimental to mankind, and that we, the Japanese Anarchists, will battle untiringly with this blood-thirsty enemy as long as we breathe.

United Anarchists in Tokio.

Tokio, Oct. 10, 1923.

Dear Comrade:

This is to answer your most pleasant letter of July the 6th. You don't know how glad I am to know that you received my last letter. We also received the money order for \$3 and I thank you very much. I am glad to know that you adopted the suggestion as how to send me the money. I believe it is the safest way. You must have a very fine time the Fourth of July. We don't even get that day off from work. We work from sun to sun, I mean from 5 A. M. to 7.30 P. M.

I am going to ask you a favor, I am almost blind, can hardly see. I beg you to send me a pair of glasses No. 22, as that is the only way I can see.

I will close this, thanking you again.

Comradely,

X. Z.

NIGHT IN PRISON

Silent nights of sorrow,
Nights of brooding and of anguish,
That tear the heavy-laden heart
And leaves one weary—worn . . .

Cold nights of storms within one's breast
That do not cease even with the passing of night,
Even with the glimmer of morn . . .
For e'er the warder's heavy tread is heard
And e'er the bars stare grim at every turn . . .
Caged, buried alive are we, within dungeons and cells,
While without—the half-mad world
Whirls on in its giddy race . . .

We are not penitents, who would
For woeful sins, mercy of the gods implore—
Nor murderers we, nor lustful thieves—
Yet are we persecuted, branded, hounded,
Even as in the Dark Ages,
When first the seed of Truth was sown,
When Man first caught a gleam
Of another world that is yet to be . . .
Often our nights we pass in reverie
Of that wondrous world—that sometimes seems so near
But yet so far away doth lie—
As some mirage, whose golden gleams lead on the chase,
Yet as pursued recedes more rapidly . . .

Our Dream World—beauty, harmony and peace—
O! Gentle Peace, long-chased away
Wand'ring, a lonely outcast o'er a warring world—
So sweet is it to dream—we could forget
The bars, the cells of gloom, the leering faces,
The hands of Hate that crush the body, but seek to crush the soul . . .

But e'en these joys are to us denied—
Ruder our awakening, keener our suffering . . .
Thus pass our lonely nights of sorrow—
For night and day are one long night to us,
Awaiting, awaiting the Dawn.
The silent night rent by Freedom's song—
Waiting, waiting—and one by one
The nights of sorrow, brooding, anguish, wearily press on . . .

L. S.—11/7/23,

In French Prisons.

In France the Anarchists, condemned for direct action, for writing or discussions which tend to benefit the mass, such as Cottin, Bennett, Faulette, are imprisoned just as vulgar assassins.

For many years a great struggle was carried on in order to obtain the meagre privilege of the regime of the republic, and today the clergyman is the sole master and can, when it pleases him, refuse this privilege to any comrade. The favors accorded by this regime are taken away, however, for the slightest cause. The detained political prisoners are given the privilege of receiving newspapers and books, of seeing their friends during certain fixed hours, of writing to whomever they wish to, and are given a little better food than is destined for the other condemned ones. But this does not save them from the dirty, repulsive cells which are to be found in the majority of French prisons. In the very old prisons, we find black and dilapidated, badly aired cells, which breed vermin which it is impossible to get rid of. In winter the prisoners shiver with cold, and in the summer they are overcome by the stifling heat and are devoured by vermin. Their food consists of one or two pitchers of water, and then the least bit of "brebreta" is given to them thru the narrow grated windows. The air of the cells becomes unbreathable during the summer months.

In Paris also the prisons are "encourantes" especially the prison called Saint Lazare—a woman's prison—and the prison "De La Petite Roquette"—a children's prison. They are battered buildings, sombre and dark, homes of vice and moral degradation. Worse yet, are the other prisons of France. Some, the better ones, as the prison of Lyon, are so damp that they are drenched with rheumatism. The others, like the prison of "Aix en Provence," are so old and so ugly that one cannot describe them.

In Paris it is in the Prison of Tante—the modern Bastille—that the imprisoned Anarchists serve their terms. In this prison there exists a political quarter where the detained political prisoners are kept, just as the others were. This political quarter is never empty, for the French government imprisons one for very slight causes. It is sufficient cause to imprison an author of a courageous generous article appearing in a newspaper. It is sufficient for an orator at a republican meet-

ing to expound a clear and sincere opinion to be thrown into prison. The "liberty of press and speech," for which our ancestors fought the revolution of 1789, are only meaningless words. For an article, a discussion, the fighters for liberty are condemned to three, six, eight, twelve and fifteen months in prison. Were we to draw up a list of imprisoned Anarchists within recent date, who were indicted for writings and speeches, we would find the following—Lecoin, Loreal, Content, D'elecourt, Lentente, Merschant, Villiers, etc. Yet all these do not include our comrades who were imprisoned for selling, distributing or collecting our printed works.

When an Anarchist is arrested, he is at first put with the other prisoners. This is a common right. It is then the clergyman examines his case and decides whether to give or to refuse him the benefit of a political prisoner. It is in this instance on such a point that the clergyman Berthou had tried, through a circular, to repeal this political regime and to make it non-existent. It was for this protest against this circular that at the end of 1922 Lecoin and I were hunted so long until the clergyman gave us the political regime, which we refused, and because of this we were pursued until Lecoin was imprisoned for a speech and for an article. Whatever it is, "le régime Politique" constitutes a bequest of a kind for the prisoners. Moral above all, because it allows them to read and to keep in touch with their friends. And until the day when the prisons will be but closed ruins, we will defy the government which denies us this right, to be free men.

Georges Vidal.

Read

Read

FREEDOM

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BULLETIN

of the

Joint Committee for the Defense of Revolutionists Imprisoned in Russia

No.

October, 1923

Berlin

Recent Arrests of Anarchists in Petrograd

On July 9, 1923, 41 Anarchists were arrested in Petrograd, and 16 "zassadas" took place in the city. (A "zassada" means that the police surround a house, permit no one to leave it—for hours or for days, as the case might be—and arrest everyone who visits the place.)

Fifteen of the arrested Anarchists were charged with propaganda of Anarchist ideas, on the basis of Par. 60-63 of the Criminal Code. Maria Yeager and Mollie Steimer two of the arrested, were kept in isolation and subjected to the regime of common criminals. In protest they declared a hunger strike, demanding to be transferred to the political "corridor" of the prison, to receive better treatment and the right of visits. Lida Surkova, member of the Left S. R.; Zea Bendina, a non-partisan, and the Anarchist S. Fleshin, moved by the spirit of solidarity, joined the hunger strikers. After the strike lasted seven days, the Political Department (known in Russia as the G. P. U., formerly Tcheka) satisfied the demands of the strikers.

Fifteen Anarchists, who had participated in several hunger strikes during that time, received the following sentences:

1. Yegorov-Zenzinov—a workingman in the factory "Skorokhod." An old Anarchist. Persecuted under the Tsar; consumptive. Very active in the revolution. Exiled from Petrograd Province and forbidden to live in Moscow, Kharkov, Odessa and all ports for a period of two years.
2. Shilow—The same, with the same sentence.
3. Sokolov—workingman, painter. An Anarchist since 1918. Recently served two years for distributing Anarchist literature in the Red Army. The same sentence.
4. Corbitch—a metal worker. An Anarchist since 1916. Deported from the United States in 1920 for pro-Soviet propaganda. Former member of the Union of Russian Workers. Exiled from Petrograd Province and forbidden to live in Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev, Odessa, in ports and border cities. Duration of exile two years.
5. Savitski—blacksmith. Old Anarchist. Deported from the United States in 1920 for pro-Soviet agitation. Former member of the Union of Russian Workers. The same sentence.
6. Rusyankin—student, Petrograd Polytechnical Institute. The same sentence.
7. Sapelov—student, Pedagogical Institute. The same sentence.
8. Petrov—Red Army Man. The same sentence.
9. Likhatchev—factory worker. Old Anarchist. Persecuted under the Tsar. Exiled to place of birth for one year.
10. Maria—teacher. Anarchist since 1914; active in the revolution. Arrested in 1921 and sent to Archangel for two years. Escaped in 1922. Very ill with malaria and scurvy. Sentenced to three years in the Concentration Camp, Solovetsk Monastir.

11. Molly Steimer. Arrested in 1918 in New York for protesting against intervention in Russian affairs. Sentenced to 15 years; after two years of imprisonment deported to Russia in 1921. Arrested by the Bolsheviks twice, for aiding imprisoned Anarchists and corresponding with her comrades abroad, and again for Anarchist propaganda. Exiled from Russia forever.

12. S. Fleshin. Active as an Anarchist in the United States, and since 1917 in Russia with "Golos Truda" and the "Nabat" in the Ukraine. Repeatedly arrested by the whites for underground work. Since 1920 employed by the Petrograd Museum of the Revolution. Repeatedly arrested by the Bolsheviks as an Anarchist. Exiled from Russia forever.

13. Pryanishnikov—metal worker. Old Anarchist. Very active under the Tsar and in the Revolution. Awaiting sentence in the House of Preliminary Detention in Petrograd. Pryanishnikov and Ponomarev declared a hunger strike on Aug. 18, 1923, demanding liberation. Were forcibly fed.

14. Yefim—a workingman in the factory of the Petrograd Consumers League. Had been repeatedly arrested under the Tsar. An active Anarchist all through the Revolution. Awaiting sentence in the House of Preliminary Detention in Petrograd.

15. Ponomarev—student of the Petrograd Pedagogical Institute. Awaiting sentence in the House of Preliminary Detention in Petrograd.

Arrest of T. Polosova

Tatayana Polosova, an active worker of the Anarcho-Syndicalist organization "Golos Truda," was delegated by the Moscow Society to Aid Imprisoned Anarchists to bring from the Peretominski Concentration Camp (in the Province of Archangel) the child of Tamara Yeager, an Anarchist imprisoned in Peretominsk. A day previous to her leaving with the child for Petrograd, Polosova was arrested and has since remained in the hands of the Archangel G. T. U. (Tcheka) without any charges being preferred against her.

Transfer of All Politicals to Solovietzki

All the politicals of the Peretominsk Camp, numbering about 175 persons, were transferred in July (1923) to the dreaded Solovetski Monastir. The latter is an island in the White Sea, entirely cut off from the rest of the world during nine months in the year. Malaria, scurvy and similar diseases are the scourge of the place. The prison administration, with the exception of the Chief Tarden and his assistant, consists entirely of criminals serving time or on probation of Communists convicted of crime, and of Tchekists in disgrace. These vie with each other in brutality toward the political prisoners, in order to curry favor with the higher administration. There is hospital attached to the prison, but an attempt to visit a sick prisoner was met with the information that visits are permitted only when according to the physician's opinion the sick prisoner is about to die.

There is no post office at Solovetski. Mail goes only as far as Archangel, and no letters are delivered to the prisoners. Politicals who had served in Schluesselburg and Petropavlovka (the worst places of imprisonment under Tsarism) say that Solovetski is the most terrible experience they have suffered.

All the prison and concentration camps in the North are so overfilled that new arrivals are refused admission.

In August, 1923, the Left S. R. Lida Surkova was sent by the Petrograd C. P. U. to the Petcherski Krai for three years. Owing to the overcrowding she failed to be accepted and has since remained in the C. P. U. of Archangel. The Anarchist Maria Yeger, the Right S. R. Naderhda Derzkaia, and a number of others were sentenced by the Petrograd and Moscow C. P. U. to three years in the Solovetski Camp and were sent there in August and September, 1923. When they reached Vologda, on their way to Solovetski, they were informed by the local authorities that because of the overcrowded condition of the Northern prisons and camps they could not be accepted, and they were sent back to Petrograd. They have traveled to Vologda by etape, the system employed in the days of the Tsars.

All the old places of exile have been "resurrected," and politicals are sent to the most isolated and uninhabitable parts, such as the Turukhanovsky and Narimaki Krai, to distant villages on the border of Thibet, etc., where the unfortunates are virtually deprived of every means of existence. All exiles are now sent by etape, often passing days and weeks at the various "distributing" prisons. Living in the most filthy and unhygienic conditions. Disease is rampant, and medical attention of the most primitive nature.

The Arrest of Lea Gutman and Others

Lea Gutman and Helena Ganshina were delegated by the Moscow Aid Society to travel North and distribute food, clothing and other necessities among the politicals in the prisons and camps of Archangel Province. They went with the permission of the All-Russian C. P. U. (Tcheka). During their presence in the North the Anarchists imprisoned in the Peretominsky Camp declared a hunger strike, demanding better living conditions and transfer to Archangel. Because Gutman, Ganshina and Piotr Skurikhin (an exile in Archangel for 2 years) informed the comrades in Petrograd and Moscow about the Peretominsky hunger strike, they were arrested and sent to Moscow. There the C. P. U. sentenced Gutman and Skurikhin to two years' exile in Beresov, in the Tobolsk Province. It required a hunger strike of seven days to change the sentence to exile to Narimaki Krai, which is considered a more preferable place. Helena Ganshina is still in the Novinsk prison, awaiting sentence.

Persecution of Left Revolutionists

On September 4 the clubrooms of the Left S. R. and Maximalists in Moscow experienced one of "the regular visits" of the C. P. U., followed by a number of arrests. The prisoners, among whom were also two non-partisan youths, were subsequently released, but the clubrooms remain "sealed."

In Ekaterinoslav was recently arrested U. Panibratsev, an old revolutionist. In Kharkov he went through an

eight-day hunger strike, in protest against being treated as a common prisoner. Now he is ill from consumption, yet in spite of he is to be exiled to the far North.

For aiding in the organization of the Lavrov evening (on the occasion of the 100th anniversary since the birth of that great Russian revolutionary thinker) in Moscow, K. Prokopovitch was exiled to Troitzky. Already a whole month en route, he has not yet reached his place of destination.

The situation regarding Saper, Berezbov, Sokolova and Cruzdeva, sentenced to death in Petrograd, remains unchanged.

The group of the Petrograd Left S. R., who had threatened suicide in case of exile to the North, were sent to Kranoyarsk, Siberia.

Reader, Friend: The need of the revolutionists in the prisons of Russia is very great. They need both your moral and material aid. The Joint Committee appeals to you to do your share, be it great or small.

Continuous, systematic material help is necessary, and that is one of the main purposes of this Committee. Help to make its efforts successful. It depends on you. Help to save the lives and health of the revolutionary prisoners of the Russian government.

Funds and correspondence are to be addressed: F. Kater (Joint Com. Def. R. I. R.), Kopernikusstr. 25, Berlin O. 34, Germany.

Foreign Delegation of the Left Social Revolutionists' Party and the Social Revolutionary Maximalist Foreign Delegation of the Left Social Revolutionists' Union—T. Steinberg.

Group of Russian Anarchists in Germany—Volin.
Representative of Moscow Society to Aid Anarchists Imprisoned in Russia—Alexander Berkman.

Mark Mratschney, Secretary.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS

April 15, 1923.

Dear Comrade:

Your kind letter came a few days ago. We are really glad to hear from you. Many thanks for money order for \$5.00 which you enclosed in letter.

We are having spring weather here now. Gee, I wish I were out and back East once again. I get the "World" every day and the fact that Coney Island opens up soon makes a fellow think about summer time. Will close hoping to hear from you soon again. I am, with best wishes and comradely greetings, as ever,

X. Y.

April 22, 1923.

Dear Comrade:

It was indeed a pleasant surprise to hear from you and I assure you that the gift was gratefully appreciated.

Such thoughtfulness on the part of comrades who are not in the shadow of imprisonment does much to lighten the burden of those who are less fortunate. It revives our hope and seems as a sort of raft to keep us afloat on the turbid waters of adversity.

Wishing you success and thanking you for your kind assistance, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Y. X.

A Letter from Yartchuk.

Dear Comrades:

In one of the recent numbers of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" I learned that the American Anarchist Red Cross has resumed its activities.

I heartily congratulate the comrades who again have undertaken this most important work.

In the days when Tzarism reigned in Russia, the American Anarchist Red Cross was famous for its energetic work in helping the Russian comrades persecuted at that time.

Hundreds of Anarchists who were tortured in the Tzaristic prisons and fortresses, all those revolutionists who have gone through the great inquisition in their fight for freedom, found great help and relief in the devoted work of their comrades of the American Anarchist Red Cross.

The revolution came. The doors of the prisons opened, the tortures of the exiled were at an end.

A great number of revolutionists left the cold, solitary, miserable Siberia, and returned to revolutionary Russia, where they at once became a part of the great movement.

With body and soul, and full of energy, they spread all over Russia, to propagate their ideal, and call the peasants and workers to organize for the final conflict, to destroy the old society completely, and organize life on a new ideal basis, devoid of God, Tzar and masters.

The American Anarchist Red Cross, in that great moment of enthusiasm realizing that the time when the triumph of the persecuted proletariat over their masters was approaching, gave up their activities.

The American Anarchist Red Cross could then feel, see and realize that their work was not in vain. By the great solidarity of its work the Anarchist Red Cross not only saved the lives of the comrades, but still more helped to keep up the spirit and love for the great struggle for freedom.

Great uncontrollable hopes! Several years elapsed. Enthusiasm! Joy! Hope passed, with the storm in the struggle for the great unattainable ideal for complete freedom . . .

The Russian Revolution is destroyed!

What did happen during those few years? In the height of the world's imperialism, in February, 1917, the proletariat of Russia raised the

banner of revolt, a revolt which brought thousands of victims for the great cause, and destroyed the vast capitals which for years have been saved with the sweat and blood of the Russian proletariat.

Their desperate struggle was final; with their enthusiasm they were ready to infect the proletarians of the world. Their slogan became, "Long live the solidarity of the world proletariat."

In October came the final challenge to the arch enemies of the workers—power and capital. This was too much for the world's capitalists and governments. In their great fright that the proletariat of the world would follow the Russian brothers, they determined to crush the Russian revolution. The memorable blockade followed, troops from all sides surrounded Russia. Their only purpose was to choke the great enthusiasm of the Russian revolution.

The heroic struggle of October brought to the foreground the best sons of Russia who perished in the final battle for freedom.

They died, but they helped to bring to life the dictatorship of "Sovnarkom" (Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Comm's). The workers of Russia fought for Social Revolution; instead winning they suffered the most terrible losses. They are shattered; their battling organizations, the immediate Soviets in the factories and shops, destroyed. Everything for which they paid with the blood of their comrades and abominable sufferings was seized by the Bolshevik governmental machine. The revolutionists who propagated the free communism, those fighters who gave their life and energy for the final and complete overthrow of the government, dictators and power, those have undergone the most terrible persecutions under the new power, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." In the prisons, where epidemics of all kinds and miseries prevailed, these were the only places where Anarchists were found.

Our imprisoned comrades, tormented by hunger, tzinga, tuberculosis and all other famous prison tortures, are constantly struggling with the administration and Cheka for some kind of human treatment, for at least a bit of freedom within the prison walls. At times, however, the torment of hunger was so great that everything else, as books, the right to see friends, fresh air, etc., was forgotten; the comrades were so weak and sick

Extracts from Letters of the Prisoners.

RUSSIA

September 13, 1923.

Dear Comrade:

I am sure that my first letter has already been received, and therefore you know that the money received previously reached its destination. At present I am in receipt of the \$50 which were sent by telegraph.

Five thousand roubles were given to Mollie, and the rest 20,000 were sent to the comrades in the North. To be more explicit, we bought the most necessary provisions such as butter, sugar and other things and sent them to the comrades.

You can hardly imagine what joy and pleasure that brought them. They are a group of 30 comrades concentrated, in spite of hardships, in one place and together they try to make their life bearable under those circumstances.

Our comrade M. S. is also with them. Their needs are great, comrades, and we must help them at least every month with the same amounts as we used to. We thank you heartily for the help which is surely used for the best and most necessary purpose.

With comrade greetings,

P. S.

August 22, 1923.

Dear Comrades:

Because of my absence from K. I was unable to answer your letter sooner. The money was received and distributed accordingly among the comrades who are in such great need. Until now the money was received very regularly, but for the last few months nothing was received and the need is very great indeed.

that they hardly found strength to move from their places.

In 1920, however, when demands for better treatment of prisoners began to penetrate from Europe and America, the conditions were somewhat improved.

But in Russia itself help for prisoners is not tolerated. The organizations, which our comrades outside tried to organize in order to help the imprisoned, were persecuted and destroyed by the Cheka, which gave "plots" as its reasons.

Another method of Nicholas the Second was revived by the Bolsheviks—to exile the revolutionists to Siberia and other desolated places, where the comrades met with great disaster.

At such a time you, my American comrades, again took up the work of the Anarchist Red Cross, which discontinued in 1917, never dreaming that the time would come again when our

The amount you send is small compared with the with the great demands.

Life is terrible here, especially for those who are in the distant prisons. Most of our comrades are concentrated in the Northern provinces, where communication of any kind is impossible. Yes, our poor comrades! It is very painful! They have no one. You are the only ones who can help them.

I have no cheerful news, dear comrades. Our comrades are persecuted everywhere. The government is despotic and cruel. No protests of any form are tolerated. Therefore the lives of our comrades are intolerable, as they are unable to do anything whatsoever.

Will not say any more now. The time will bring more news. I must remind you about them for the winter. Do not forget our comrades and remember their hardships.

With comradely greetings,

P. D.

* * * *

April 9, 1923.

Dear Comrades:

Your two letters and parcel received. We thank you heartily and be assured that the things sent will be used only for the prisoners or for those who are being released conditionally. They can be arrested and imprisoned at any time.

In general, the imprisonment, arrests and persecution were stopped a little, although not everywhere. This is due mostly to the protests raised by our comrades abroad, also because our activities were stopped.

You know, however, that this silence will not last, as our comrades will always work for our ideal, and we may again expect the same persecutions.

comrades would be dispersed in exile and your work in the Anarchist Red Cross become of great necessity again.

Those who have lived through the persecution of the Czaristic regime, in far Siberia and the fortresses, have then gone through all the struggles of the revolution and are at present again in the same miseries of being exiled and tormented.

However, those heroic spirits who were able to withstand all this, and who again have the comradely aid and encouragement of their comrades on the other side of the ocean, are still full of hope and energy, and are ready again to struggle for the attainment of our ideal—the Social Revolution and Free Communism.

With comradely greetings and best wishes for success,

Your comrade,

E. Yarchuk.

Our comrades in O. are silent. We have not heard from them for a long time. Some of them are under arrests. Censorship, as you know, is very strict, therefore we cannot communicate. I am sending you an address through which you can communicate with them and help them directly. We are also sending money to all those parts of Russia that we can reach.

Dear Comrade: Your letter was received. Thanks. Must inform you that your letters were read by the censors before they reached us, and be careful in your writing next time, because your letters may not reach us. At present we have no particular news, working and quite healthy. I also want to inform you that N received your parcel and J wrote you.

Everyone is rejoicing over the work that you are doing. With thanks and hearty regards from all the comrades.

* * * *

Dear Comrades:

Don't be surprised if suddenly you get a letter from me. Many times I thought of writing to you, to tell how we are getting along and what we are doing in Russia. I didn't write because while I was free there was no way of communicating, and when there was a way I was in jail.

Especially did I long to write to you because I still remember your last letter to me in Chicago, the time you sent me the credentials from the M. E. It was just before I left for Russia, which was in May, 1917. You envied us because we were Russian born and that we were lucky that we could go to a country where there would be freedom for the working class. We all thought the same. Yes, it was the time of enthusiasm we were to be envied, because we bravely fought the battles for freedom on the Russian fields; but my dear friend, the lucky ones are not those who come to Russia—no!

I went through a lot of fighting, was wounded many times, and how I am paid for all I went through—jail, jail and jail again.

Since 1919 I am hunted for like a wild beast, spied after and frame-ups made. The last arrest was the most cruel, though the most foolishly fabricated one, and when I proved it to them, I was plainly told that I was arrested because I might be active in the future.

A verdict was brought against me. I was to be exiled to one of the worst places in the world called "Narimsky Baise." In protest against this sentence, I hungered 28 days, and then at the end of the 28th day they started to feed me by force artificially. I preferred to die in a Moscow jail than to die on the way to the wilderness.

After five days of artificial and forcible feeding, I was finally, in a dying condition, brought home on the guarantee of a high government official. He took the responsibility to get me back after three months to the authorities to be sent away to the "Narimsky Baise."

My left side from the toes up to the arm is paralyzed, but this will not stop their sending me away as soon as the 3 months will expire.

I am home, but materially very badly off. I am short of food, necessary medicines, and care of doctors. Rose and Esther are also invalids of the struggle for freedom. Rose is left with a stiff leg and swollen arteries on both legs—she must undergo an operation. Esther can't obtain work because she doesn't know Russian well enough. The boy is only 11 years old, they only de-

pend on my earnings, but my present condition is terrible, as jails and only jails took my health away, and as that is not enough, I am to be sent away, never to see the white bright world again.

Immediate help is needed. Do for me what we used to do for others.

I remain fraternally yours,

M. C.

April 3, 1923.

Dear Comrades:

I believe that my letter acknowledging the first \$25 was received by you. Now I am glad to acknowledge the second sum of \$25. Ten dollars of the latter was given to S., as you requested, and you probably have received an answer from them. The \$15 will be given to comrade M. S., as per your request. As he is not in the city at present, the money will be forwarded as soon as possible.

I must tell you, dear comrades, that our needs are great, greater than ever before. Our comrades are in need of money, clothes and provisions especially. You are aware of the fact that our comrades are dispersed all over Russia, in the most awful places, and in uncreditable conditions. Most of them are in the distant, desolated provinces, where it is almost impossible to reach them, in order to help them.

No matter how far and poor we are, comrades, we must help with all our might, at least enough to enable them to live. We used to receive help from Berlin comrades, but for quite a while now, we have not had anything from them. The last few dollars have been spent for the things sent to our comrades in the distant provinces.

We ask you again and again not to forget our comrades. With comradely greetings,

P. P.

* * * *

U. S. A.

My Dear Friend:

Your most kind and welcomed letter reached me a few days ago and I was very glad to hear from you; your most thoughtful gift certainly came in handy, as it will help to purchase many little things that are necessary in life. Confinement has long ago begun. It's deadly ravage on my poor physical system. I am sick most of the time and at present am suffering with T. B. and rheumatism. I hope that it is not very long before I may see once more "freedom," and that I may be among my comrades. I do not know what is being done in my case just now, but I hope that I am not forgotten while they are fighting "our" just cause for those who are at Leavenworth now. I heard about those who were "freed" by the President.

I would appreciate it very much if you would inform me what is being done in regards to my case, that is, when you get back to New York. I would appreciate very much if you would send me some New York papers. Time certainly hangs on one's hands, and I am getting so nervous and the dreaded tuberculosis is fastly sapping my life away. All I can do is look up and hope, which the post has called the El Dorado of the damned.

Trusting that I may have the honor of hearing from you soon again and always count on me as being true, and if I am granted my liberty, I will be there among my comrades to help carry the fight on—but remember I have served like a man. I am,

Yours respectfully,

A. S.

Dear Comrade:

I received your kind letter of May 27th. I thought to answer it just now in order to let you know my delight in receiving your valuable solidarity of \$3 that you call diadainfully "pitiful sum." It represents however a great amount of privations and sacrifices far beyond any mind can describe. I would appreciate a donation of \$1 from my friends the toilers rather than one million from any exploiter leech of the poor. Perhaps I would accept it, for one is always tempted by money, but I would expend it in establishing rationalist schools, and daily newspapers and books for the propaganda of our new ideas, of complete human emancipation, and throw off from our bowed and wearied backs the present system of social inequalities and injustices that cause the miseries and misfortunes of more than one thousand and four hundred million human beings spread over this planet Earth.

I send my kindest regards and comradely love to all of you.

Your comrade,

LIBRADO RIVERA.

HOPE FOR THE NEW YEAR

January 4, 1922.

The New Year has already arrived fresh from the depths of time, and all hearts—mine among them—turn to him anxiously trying to divine what does he bring for us mortals, for everyone of us wants something, and everyone of us pins his hopes in the New Year. But the countenance of the traveller does not betray the nature of the events he has in store for us. Freedom is what I most need, and consequently ask him thus: "What dost thou bring me? Hath Fate given thee the key to these formidable gates?" And fixing my tired eyes to the starry-dusted face, hardly daring to breathe lest I should fail hearing the answer, I wait . . . He does not answer, he does not answer silly questions, but in his gaze, inexpressive of love, or hatred, or pity, or cruelty, I see the indifference of Nature—our heartless, brainless, bloodless mother. Yes, there is scarcely one who has nothing to expect from the New Year, from every New Year, ever since the nebulous emotion we call Hope began to stir in the human heart. I, of course, belong to the hopeful tribe. One year comes and goes, and another comes and goes, finding me as hopeful as always, and undoubtedly this hopefulness has entered in no small degree in the number of circumstances which have determined my revolutionary activity. I have always hoped that the miracle would eventually happen—the advent of Justice on Earth—and most naturally 1922 finds me in the same mood. The New Year, however, is silent; he does not encourage my optimism, he even seems

bent on freezing the rozy hopes that glow in my heart. I scrutinize him hoping of being able to decipher the riddle of the Future by some apparently innocuous sign on him, but to no purpose—there is not in him something indicative of his having seen Justice treading towards us.

I do not despair, however, for I know that Justice is coming. If the New Year does not give me the least hint of the impending miracle, I read its symptoms in the myriad events of human life. I place my hand on the nerves of Humanity, and feel their tension. I lend my ear to the faintest rumor, and detect a gnashing of teeth issuing from all quarters. Disgust is rampant—the oppressor is disgusted, everybody is disgusted. A civilization founded on barbarism is tottering; a civilization based on inequality is about to collapse. Disquietude prevails—the rich hides his coin and the workers smile confident that the muscle of his arm and the brain of his head shall be the bank-notes of tomorrow. 1922 may remain silent, but I know that Justice is coming—my very chains proclaim her proximity, for they were riveted on my old limbs by tremulous hands that feared that my presence in the streets might precipitate her advent . . .

With comradely love,

Ricardo Flores Magon.

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FINANCIAL REPORT

(Concluded from Page 2)

Expense:

Money Sent to Prisons via Correspondence Committee	
United States	\$125.00
England	25.00
France	25.00
Germany	100.00
Russia	230.00

Prison Relief Total.....\$505.00

Postage and Stationery.....	\$58.35
Entertainments Expense	548.30
Meeting Hall	55.00

Total Expense

Total Income	\$1,433.82
Total Expense	1,166.65

Amount in Treasury.....\$267.17